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THE SYCOPHANT-PARASITE

BY J. O. LOFBERG

The writer has already made a detailed study of the important rôle of the *συκοφάνται* in Athens.¹ The material for this study was drawn almost entirely from Aristophanes and the orators, and no effort was made to carry it beyond the period of Demosthenes. It is the purpose of the present article to note what light later writers, especially those of the New Comedy and Plautus and Terence,² throw on the subject. The value of such an extension of the study will be evident. These writers offer us the opportunity of looking at Athenian institutions from a different angle. The subject-matter of a comedy of manners of necessity furnishes some details not elsewhere found. They also give us a picture of an Athens different in many respects from the Athens of Pericles or even of the days of Demosthenes. Before proceeding to a discussion of what they contribute to this study it will be well to give a brief summary of the activities of the *συκοφάνται* in the earlier period. Wealthy and non-litigious Athenians were rather at the mercy of these shrewd legal tricksters.³ Payment of blackmail was a safer method of answering their threats of litigation than appearance in court; the popular courts were not disposed to favor a rich man, and therein lay the strength of the sycophant.⁴ Familiarity with the courts rendered them formidable as witnesses⁵ and advocates (*συνήγοροι*).⁶ As informers (*μηνυταί*) they terrified guilty and innocent.⁷ Through club organizations, permanent⁸ or temporary,⁹ they strengthened

¹ *Sycophancy in Athens*, University of Chicago dissertation, 1917.

² The use of the Roman writers as proper sources for this information can hardly be questioned. It has received the firm support of such a careful scholar as Philippe Legrand, *Daos*, p. 3 and chap. ii. Cf. also Lallier, "Le Procès de Phormion," in the *Annuaire de l'Association des Etudes Grecques*, XII (1878), 49 ff.

³ See *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 32 ff., for details and references.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁷ Notably the hiring Diocles And. i. 37.

⁸ The best known are the club of Menicles and Mnesicles (Dem. 39 and 40) and that of Melas (Isaeus 5). For full discussion and references see *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 59 ff.; Calhoun, *Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation*, pp. 80 *et passim*.

⁹ Of this the cabal against Andocides is a good example (And. i. 121; *Sycophancy in Athens*, p. 67).

their power and insured the success of their machinations. Acting alone or in groups they frequently served as the hired agents of others. In this capacity they were effective in bringing suits against personal or political enemies; in introducing laws and decrees; in acting as witnesses or advocates; in bribing juries and ecclesiasts.¹

Sycophanta impudens was apparently a stock character in the New Comedy.² This in itself is a fairly clear indication that the sycophant was still an active member of Athenian society. The Greek original of the *Persa* was composed at a time when their activities were still excessive. At least the author feels justified in making a direct attack upon them through the mouth of one of his leading characters.³ Plautus, it is true, calls them not *sycophantae* but *quadrupulatores*. However, there can scarcely be any doubt that Plautus was merely translating his Greek original in this passage and not commenting on a situation that obtained in Rome. Leo has shown⁴ that the legal process mentioned in this passage is really Athenian and that the *quadrupulatores* are really *συκοφάνται*. The Greek original of this play was probably written before the conquests of Alexander.⁵ Such being the case, it is easily understood that the sycophants should still be the object of direct attack.

There is a similar faithfulness to the Greek original in Plautus' treatment of the *advocati* in the *Poenulus*. They are typical Athenian *συνήγοροι* (*advocati*) and *μάρτυρες* and belong to the class of hirelings that were regarded as sycophants.⁶ A glance at the episode will make this clear. They are regular men-of-the-courts (*comitiales*), more regular even than the judges (*praetor*).⁷ When there is no litigation they "cook it up"; they are in the habit of persecuting rich men.⁸ They show great ingenuity in introducing to the *leno*

¹ See *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 48 f., for discussion and references. It is obviously impossible to treat the matter adequately here.

² Terence *Heaut.* Prol. 38; Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³ Plautus *Persa* 62 ff.

⁴ *Plautinische Forschungen* (2d ed.), pp. 123 ff. For suggestions as to the reason for using the term *quadrupulator* instead of *sycophanta* see below, p. 69.

⁵ Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁶ Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 52; *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 53 ff.

⁷ Plautus *Poenulus* 584 f.

⁸ *Ibid.* 517.

the fake-foreigner who is to prove his undoing;¹ information that they happen to have can easily be purchased.² They render assistance to Agorastocles in getting his slave out of the house of the *leno* and make themselves generally useful.³ It is quite clear that they were usually paid for their services and expected to receive pay on this occasion.⁴

One of Terence's characters fears to lay claim to the estate of a deceased relative lest he be branded *sycophanta*.⁵

We are not dependent upon the Latin versions of the Greek comedies for information about the continued prevalence of the sycophant. In Menander's *Georgos* a man bewails the disadvantage under which a poor man labors (in the courts, apparently); no matter how just his case may be, it is impossible to convince people that his whole purpose is not personal gain; *συκοφάντης* is the name given to a man with a threadbare suit, regardless of the justice of his case.⁶ Another of Menander's characters moralizes on the unfairness of this life; decency and honesty go unrewarded and rascality has the upper hand: "Best of all fares the κόλαξ and second best the *συκοφάντης*."⁷ So also in a fragment of Philippides we are told that the most violent sycophant will become as gentle as a lamb if you hand him a mina or two.⁸ Theopompus in his *Philippica*⁹ reports with apparent seriousness the founding of a City of Rascals,¹⁰ by Philip, for sycophants, false witnesses, and advocates. Elsewhere¹¹ he states that Athens was full of flatterers, sailors, pickpockets, false witnesses, and sycophants. It is uncertain, perhaps, to what period of Athenian history he is here referring, but it is not unfair to assume that it deals with the latter part of the fourth century B.C.¹²

Democracy was the soil in which sycophancy flourished. Therefore with the decline of democratic institutions which followed Philip

¹ *Ibid.* 650 ff.

² *Ibid.* 770 ff.

³ *Ibid.* 785.

⁴ *Ibid.* 807-10.

⁵ *Andria* 815.

⁶ Frag. 1 (reference is to Koerte, *Editio Maior*).

⁷ Frag. 223.

⁸ Frag. 29.

⁹ Frag. 107. It is not begging the question to assume that the majority of the inhabitants of such a city would hail from Athens. Where else in Greece did they flourish with such success?

¹⁰ Πονηρόπολις.

¹¹ Frag. 267.

¹² See Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

and Alexander there came naturally limitations in the sycophants' sphere of activity. There still existed numerous opportunities for false accusation, professional advocacy, false witness, and blackmail, but it is doubtful if sycophants could rise to such positions of importance as some had held in the older Athens.¹ Opportunities to sell their services to revolutionary parties,² to use their talents in attacks on men in high political office,³ or to engage in activities of public nature would be few. It was rather the day of the petty sycophant, the *εὔτελής*, to borrow Crito's term.⁴ Between this type and those who hunted bigger game there is obviously no essential difference. It is in fact not unlikely that often the more prominent were also *εὔτελείς*. However, the New Comedy offers more information about the cheap hireling, whose chief occupation was to act as the ready agent for others, and less about those who engaged in litigation on their own initiative or even those who practiced blackmail. As has been suggested above, Athenians who wished to avoid the inconvenience or notoriety connected with any transaction found the sycophant a convenient agent. Often the business to be performed involved connection with the courts. For other affairs, however, no matter how trivial, the versatile petty sycophant was equally available. Indications are not lacking in the orators of such use of the sycophants. Remarkably versatile agents are Pythodorus,⁵ an assistant of Pasion, Stephanus,⁶ who was the efficient helper of Phormio, and Aristophon.⁷ The latter belonged to a group of *μοχθηρῶν ἀνθρώπων* who hung around the Piraeus looking for employment of this sort.

Real life in Athens and the life depicted in the New Comedy may not exactly correspond. There are undoubtedly exaggerations. We meet certain episodes, incidents, and characters more often than we should in real life. In the main, however, there is no violence

¹ See the careers of Theocrines (Dem. 58) and Aristogiton (Dem. 25; 26) in *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 78 ff.

² See the career of Agoratus (Lysias 13) in *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 72 ff.

³ Both Aristogiton and Theocrines boasted of doing this.

⁴ Plato *Crito* 45 A.

⁵ Isoc. 17. 4 *et passim*.

⁶ Dem. 45, 57-58, 64.

⁷ Dem. 32, 10-12 *et passim*.

done to realism,¹ and it is safe to regard the behavior of the people in the comedies as a fair sample of what really went on in Athens.

Apparently trickery of a more or less harmless nature played a large part in the life of the average Athenian family. The *senex credulus*, the *leno*, and the *miles gloriosus* were the natural targets of deception. Often clever and resourceful slaves invented the schemes and carried them out, as in the *Andria*, with no other considerable assistance. At other times, however, assistants were required. When necessary they were hired. This was especially true when someone was desired to represent the "stranger from abroad." The best instance of this is found in the *Trinummus*. It may be well to note the plot in some detail. Megaronides and Callicles, two elderly Athenians, decide to use a little harmless deception upon young Lesbonicus, the son of their old friend, Charmides. The latter's property during his absence from Athens has been practically ruined through the recklessness of his son, Lesbonicus. This Lesbonicus has a sister who is sought in marriage by Lysiteles. The brother, her *patronus* in the absence of the father, has no objection to the match, but his pride forces him to withhold his consent to the wedding unless Lysiteles will accept as dowry the only remaining piece of land that belongs to Charmides. The prospective bridegroom refuses to do this. At this juncture Megaronides and Callicles, who know of a buried treasure in the house of Charmides, hit upon a plan to bring about the marriage. They propose to hire a sycophant² to pose as a messenger from Lesbonicus' father. He is to bring letters to Lesbonicus and to Callicles.³ In the former's letter is to be a statement that the messenger brings a bag of gold from Charmides to Callicles to be used as a marriage portion for the daughter. Their plan is, of course, to dig up some of the treasure and give that as the dowry. As their agent they choose *aliquem mendaciloquem*⁴ . . . *falsidicum, confidentem*⁵ . . . *sycophantam* . . . *de foro*.⁶ The timely arrival

¹ Legrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 264 ff., especially p. 287.

² Plaut. *Trin.* 765 ff., 815.

³ It is noteworthy that they did not intrust the money to the sycophant to give to Lesbonicus. The character of neither was suited to such a scheme.

⁴ Plaut. *Trin.* 769.

⁵ *Ibid.* 770.

⁶ *Ibid.* 815. This reminds us of the implication of litigation that was involved in the term *ἀγοραῖος*. Cf. also *ἐξ ἀγορᾶς* Arist. *Knights* 180.

of Charmides just as the sycophant is trying to deliver his letter to Lesbonicus supplies us with one of the best dialogues in all Latin comedy.¹ A large part of its excellence is due to the wit and clever sparring of the sycophant, and this in turn indicates clearly the suitability of the sycophant for his job. It is quite obvious that any clever person unknown to Lesbonicus could have played the part of this messenger from foreign parts and that it was not imperative that a professional hireling be found. But the reason for his being used is that there were so many triflers² loitering about the *agora* looking for such employment that it was easier to pay a small³ sum to one of them than to hunt up some unknown non-professional person to play the part.

The plot of the *Pseudolus* also calls for someone to masquerade as a foreigner. The intention seems to be to hire a sycophant.⁴ This, however, is rendered unnecessary in this instance. One of the characters offers the services of a newly acquired slave, who is unknown to the *leno* and who therefore runs slight risk of discovery.⁵ He also fortunately possesses the same qualifications⁶ for the part that the professional hireling of the *Trinummus* does.⁷

It would, of course, be absurd to assume that the comedies supply statistical material about the number of sycophants or their activities. Both their presence and their behavior in the plays are matters of convention. But the readiness to call any unknown person who is suspected of playing a part *sycophanta* is a clear indication of the extent to which men were hired to perpetrate tricks of this sort. One of the best instances of this is found in the *Pseudolus*. Simia, the "slave-sycophant"⁸ mentioned above, was so successful in passing

¹ Plaut. *Trin.* 843 ff.

² *nugator*, *ibid.*, 1138.

³ He himself admits that his pay is small: *subigor trium nummum* (848). Cf. Crito's *εἰρεδαῖς*.

⁴ Plaut. *Pseud.* 724.

⁵ *Ibid.* 729–30.

⁶ *Ibid.* 725, 729, 739–41, 1017 ff.

⁷ Similarly in the *Persa* and in the *Poenulus* the masqueraders are slaves. In the former this is practicable because the *leno* who is to be tricked is a recent arrival in Athens. In the latter a *vilicus* who is in town for the day is naturally employed. In both of these cases *sycophantia* is the term applied to the trick: *Persa* 325; *Poenulus* 425.

⁸ *Argumentum* ii. 14, *sycophanta cacula*. The exact reading is uncertain. He is also called *sycophanta* in the scene heading.

himself off as Harpax,¹ the messenger from "the captain," that when the real Harpax arrived he was welcomed by the *leno* as an imposter made up to play the part,² called an out-and-out sycophant,³ and told that men of that profession would find business dull there that day.⁴

Not only did *sycophanta* come to be the regular word for swindler and imposter,⁵ but a similar change took place in the use of kindred words. *Sycophantia* was often merely a synonym for trickery,⁶ deception, and "bluff," and was interchangeable with *fallacia*, *doli*, or *nugae*.⁷ This change of meaning is not limited to the Latin words. *συκοφαντεῖν* is used by Menander⁸ just as *sycophantari* is by Plautus.⁹ Outside of comedy we find the term used with force of "perverting facts,"¹⁰ misrepresenting a matter,¹¹ and even for a "logical fallacy."¹² This is not far removed from the loose use of *συκοφαντεῖν* by litigants in the orators to imply that their opponents are attacking on slight provocation. A dialogue in the *Samia* offers an excellent opportunity for the study of this use of the word:

De. σὺ δ' ἐπ' ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα λαμβάνεις βακτήριον
καὶ διώκεις; *Ni.* συκοφαντεῖς.¹³

Will you take a stick to a free woman and run her off?
You're a liar!

Here *συκοφαντεῖς* approaches the somewhat technical "That's blackmail!" but there is no suggestion of litigation.¹⁴

¹ Plautus *Pseud.* 963 ff.

² *Ibid.* 1184 ff.

³ *Ibid.* 1200.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1197. A similar comic effect is obtained in *Trinummus* 972 when the sycophant calls Charmides a trickster because he insists that he is Charmides.

⁵ Plautus *Amph.* 506 gives a striking use of the term. There it applied to Zeus playing a part. Cf. Plautus *Menaech.* 260, 283, 1087; *Poen.* 1032; *Pseud.* 1204.

⁶ Plautus *Asin.* 71; *Aul.* 649; *Bacch.* 764, 806; *Capt.* 521; *Miles* 767; *Pers.* 325; *Poen.* 425, 654; *Pseud.* 527, 572.

⁷ Plautus *Pseud.* 485, 672, 1204; *Trin.* 856, 972.

⁸ *Epitrepontes* 1; *Periceiomene* 178 (references are to Koerte, *Editio Maior*).

⁹ *Trin.* 787, 958.

¹⁰ Dem. 19, 98.

¹¹ Dem. 23, 61.

¹² Aristotle *Rhetoric* II. 24. 10. Aeschines (2. 99) states that the term *συκοφάντης* had come to be applied to all scoundrels.

¹³ Menander *Samia* 232.

¹⁴ It is quite obvious that there is a conscious punning use of legal vocabulary in *διώκεις* . . . *συκοφαντεῖς*.

The most easily employed agent that a family of wealth could find was naturally the parasite. Men of this profession admitted that they were available for any service.¹ The parasite Artotrogus is sent by Pyrgopolynices to conduct the *latrones* that he had collected to Seleucus.² The wife of Epigonus sends the family dependent (parasite) Gelasimus to the harbor for news of her husband.³ The parasite in the *Asinaria* is his master's clerk.⁴ Curculio is a very efficient agent for Phaedromus. He goes on a mission to borrow money for his *rex*.⁵ To further the latter's interests⁶ he steals an important seal ring,⁷ connives at a forgery,⁸ and is ready to serve as witness in a "shady" affair.⁹ His master unquestionably has, in the words of the Choregus, acquired *nugatorem lepidum . . . halophantam an sycophantam*.¹⁰ This identification of the parasite with the sycophant was but natural. The only essential difference was in the remuneration they received. This very difference rendered the parasite a much more "comic" character than the sycophant. An *edax parasitus* would provoke more laughter on the stage than *sycophanta impudens*.¹¹ And since they were practically alike in methods, availability, and general character,¹² and since the parasite was an established convention in the New Comedy,¹³ a playwright could easily motivate his presence in a comedy by letting him serve as Jack-of-all-trades. This confusion in everyday life between *sycophanta* and *parasitus* naturally affected the semitechnical force

¹ Vid. Legrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95 with references.

² Plautus *Miles* 948. It matters little that this may not be at all the mission on which he had been sent. For the present purpose it is enough to observe that he was the natural one to send on a mission.

³ Plautus *Stichus* 150. In this instance it may well be that the only reason for sending the parasite was to get him on the stage (see Prescott, "The Interpretation of Roman Comedy," *Class. Phil.*, XI, 136-37). The audience was apparently accustomed to a parasite's being sent on errands.

⁴ Plautus *Asinaria* 746 ff.

⁵ Plautus *Curc.* 67. ⁶ *Ibid.* 329 ff. ⁷ *Ibid.* 360. ⁸ *Ibid.* 365. ⁹ *Ibid.* 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 462 f. There is remarkable similarity in all this between Curculio's methods and activities and those of the sycophant-agents, Stephanus (Dem. 45, 57-58), Pythodorus (Isoc. 17. 4, 23, 33-34).

¹¹ Terence *Heaut.* Prol. 38.

¹² Cf. Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 125, "der Sycophant und Parasit aber sind gerade in der Komödie Charaktere derselben Sphäre, oft in einer Person vereinigt."

¹³ See Legrand, *op. cit.*, pp. 292 f., with references cited.

of the former term. It was inevitable that a cheap hireling should become a flatterer.¹ *Omnia assentari*² is no more characteristic of a Gnatho who is known by the title of *kolax*³ than of a Curculio who may be called a sycophant.⁴ This situation probably explains why Plautus (*Pers.* 62 ff.) used *quadrupulator* and *quadrupulari* instead of *sycophanta* and *sycophantari*. A parasite is speaking. *Sycophanta* and *parasitus* so often had the same connotation that there would have been slight point in his insisting that he did not wish to be *sycophanta*. His intention is to make it perfectly clear that he does not care to copy those of his profession who engage in litigation and blackmail (cf. Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 125). It might be added that the force of *sycophanta* suggested, as has been shown, swindler rather than pettifogger.

Many individuals called parasites by a playwright would doubtless be known as sycophants in real life. Phormio is really an excellent example of an expert sycophant of the old school, *bonorum extoror, legum contortor*.⁵ He would surely have been so called by Aristophanes, and the commentary of Donatus does give him this name on several occasions.⁶ Any man so expert in litigation and such a source of concern to the wealthy would have been a welcome member of the club of sycophants headed by Menecles and Mnesicles.⁷ Terence, however, calls him a parasite in spite of the fact that, barring a few mild passages,⁸ there is little to justify the term, if he is to be

¹ Efforts have been made to classify parasites. Giese, *De parasi persona capita selecta* (Berlin, 1908), p. 22, distinguishes three kinds: those *antiquioris generis*, the hungry, dirty sort; the *assentator* who attends a *miles gloriosus*; those *similes servis illis callidissimis comoediae novae*. Cf. also Ribbeck, *Kolax* (*Abhandlungen der k. sächsischen Ges. der Wiss.*, IX [1884], 27). There may be varying degrees of servility discernible, but there is nothing that prevents one type from merging in another. If it were possible to draw a hard-and-fast distinction, it would be convenient to say that those that Giese puts in his third class were really the sycophant-parasites whom we have been describing.

² Terence *Eun.* 253.

⁴ Plautus *Curc.* 463.

³ Terence *Eun.* Prol. 30.

⁵ Terence *Phormio* 374.

⁶ Donatus on *Phormio* 279, 319, 352. Modern commentators frequently recognize the sycophantic characteristics in Phormio even when they continue to refer to him as a parasite: Legrand, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Dziatzko-Hauler, p. 70, n. 1, "*Halb Parasit, halb Sycophant*"; Fredershausen, *De iure Plautino et Terentiano* 70; Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 125, "*der Sycophant und Parasit aber sind gerade in der Komödie Charaktere derselben Sphäre, oft in einer Person vereinigt, wie vor allem Phormio zeigt.*"

⁷ Dem. 39 and 40; *Sycophancy in Athens*, pp. 60 ff.

⁸ Terence *Phormio* 335, *alere nolunt hominem edacem*; 337 ff.; 1052, *me ad cenam voca*.

considered a typical hungry parasite. There is even a tradition that Terence gave enthusiastic approval when his *magister gregis*, in acting the part of Phormio, represented him as a fawning κόλαξ, and that the author said that such was his idea of the part.¹ So strong was the demand for that type of character on the stage.²

This play furnishes a good opportunity for observing how a sycophant, and that, too, one who was too prominent to be called εὔτελής, succeeded in becoming attached as parasite to a well-to-do family. Phormio was apparently well known about town as a successful pettifogger,³ a dread of the wealthy and non-litigious,⁴ and an expert in legal trickery.⁵ Phaedria and Antipho naturally turn to him for a solution of their difficulties.⁶ His management, not only of the legal side of their affairs, but of all their schemes, of which he was the author,⁷ was successful.⁸ He had been unknown to the elders of the family previous to his employment by the young men,⁹ but he had little difficulty in winning the position of hanger-on. He was more acceptable as friend than foe. It was unwise for a family with skeletons in its closets to have an outsider, so able and unscrupulous, familiar with its affairs. The immediate cause of his success was a trick that seems to have been a favorite with parasites. He brought over to his side the ill-used wife of the *senex* by informing her

¹ Donatus on *Phormio* 315. On the occasion referred to the actor was drunk and his delineation of the part was partly due to his condition.

² From one point of view the New Comedy ridicules the parasite in very much the same way that the Old Comedy attacked the sycophant; the parasite in the *Persa* argues for the dignity of his "profession" in the following manner: "The old calling of my forefathers do I follow and cultivate with great care. For never was there any one of my forefathers who did not fill his belly by acting the parasite; father, grandfather, great grandfather, great-great grandfather, his grandfather and great grandfather, like mice always fed on the victuals of others" (52 ff.).

In Aristophanes' *Birds* (1432 ff., 1451 ff.) it is the sycophant who refuses to give up his profession. He had it from his father, who got it from his, who in turn got it from his; to give it up would be to disgrace his ancestors.

³ *Phormio* 327 ff., 122-23.

⁴ *Ibid.* 330 ff., 623, 766 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* 125 ff., 330 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* 122 ff., 560 f.

⁷ *Ibid.* 130 ff., 317, 650 ff.

⁸ Cf. the sycophants Menecles and Mnesicles and their activities in *Dem.* 39; 40.

⁹ *Ibid.* 307, 618, 991.

of her husband's deliction.¹ This caused a speedy change in the attitude of the old men toward him, and the play closes with his installation as *amicus* and *parasitus*.²

Roughly speaking, the term sycophant may be applied to an agent employed for some particular business, parasite to one who serves one or several patrons regularly. To the latter class belongs Phormio.³

A striking parallel to all this, that has apparently been overlooked, is found in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.⁴ Socrates persuades Crito to employ a "watch-dog" to keep off the sycophants that beset him.⁵ Archdemus is the man chosen. Like Phormio, he is "poor but able."⁶ Although he is not called by the name of sycophant, he is clearly one of their kind.⁷ Crito is in constant fear that he may turn upon him, and for that reason does his utmost to keep his good-will.⁸ So Chremes finds Phormio a dangerous enemy.⁹ Archdemus undertakes to protect Crito's friends also from legal difficulties,¹⁰ just as Phormio proves himself the efficient manager of the affairs of several members of one family and apparently of several families.¹¹ Phormio felt no hesitation in admitting that the title of parasite applied to him.¹² Archdemus was twitted about his servility ὡς ὑπο Κρίτωνος ὠφελούμενος κολακεῖται αὐτόν¹³ and justified his position by maintaining that it was less disgraceful to be friends of the *χρηστοί* than of the *πονηροί*.

¹ *Ibid.* 985 ff.; cf. Plautus *Menaech.* 519; cf. *Asin.* 810.

² *Phormio* 1049, 1053, *me ad cenam voca.*

³ Terence *Phormio* 122, "*est parasitus quidam Phormio, homo confidens*" implies either that he was a professional hanger-on or else the term means little else than adventurer or hireling.

⁴ *Memorabilia* ii. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 9. 1-3.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 9. 4, ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πράξει, πένητα δέ. Cf. Terence *Phormio* 902, *haec mea paupertas*. Proof of his ability has already been given.

⁷ It was his reputation for shrewdness in litigation that got him his position with Crito. Cf. also his methods, ii. 9. 5-6.

⁸ *Ibid.* 9. 3-5.

⁹ Terence *Phormio* 980 ff., 900 ff.

¹¹ Terence *Phormio* 122 *et passim*.

¹⁰ Xen. *Mem.* ii. 9. 7-8.

¹² *Ibid.* 335 ff., 345.

¹³ Xen. *Mem.* ii. 9. 8. The use of *κολακεῖται* is significant. It is in a sense the forerunner of the freer use of *κόλαξ* and *παράσιτος*. It is also interesting to notice that a part of Archdemus' salary was produce from Crito's farm and an occasional invitation to dinner (sec. 4). Cf. Ter. *Phormio* 1053, *me ad cenam voca.*

The New Comedy shows us the following things in regard to this phase of life in Athens:

1. The survival of sycophants of the old school, formidable experts in litigation, false witness, advocacy, and blackmail, e.g., the *advocati* of the *Poenulus*, and especially Phormio.

2. A noticeable change in the meaning of the term *συκοφάντης*. Its technical and litigious connotation is giving way to a new meaning, "imposter" or "swindler."

3. The consequent practical identity of sycophant and parasite. A cheap hireling loses independence and keeps his job only by flattery. The parasites of whom Curculio is a type are not distinguishable from sycophants.

4. The greater comic possibility in a parasite as compared to a sycophant. The only important difference between petty sycophants and parasites is the form of remuneration for their services. The fondness for a meal is more suitable for comic effect than the willingness to work even for "three pieces of money" (*Trinummus*). There is therefore a tendency to put a parasite rather than a sycophant into a New Comedy.

5. The tendency to consider a permanent agent a parasite. The distinctive parasite qualities are entirely lacking in Phormio. Except for an occasional use of the term and a few references to the pleasures of a meal and the blessed lot of the parasite, there is nothing about Phormio to justify the term. The fact that he is a regular and permanent assistant helps to confuse him with men of that class.

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